28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

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[title page]

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AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate A, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record.

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2]

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces-

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103–5–6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593–1821.

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540–1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599–1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928.

[See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

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sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square. Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Domingues and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

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all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares.. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Yniforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Séville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

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Petrograph of a figure carrying two lances, points downward (from Kenton, Okla.)

[facing p. 292]

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175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

559 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

559
701

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809-811.

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According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

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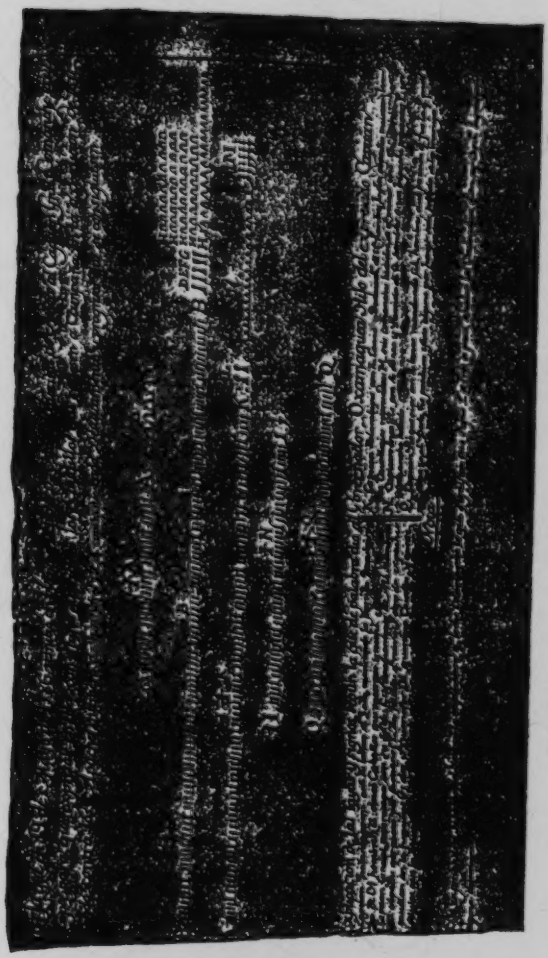

175
212
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648

Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

[facing p. 294]

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175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[11]

175 212 701 [648] Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[12]

[113] [11] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[12] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

NOTE

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

NOTICIA

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)."

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G.

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *caballerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *caballerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd.

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

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[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[31]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[32] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[33] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange "of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[31] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[32] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hasanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[34] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred.

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown.

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

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175 to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the
701 purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in
648 the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties
726 of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 Capitan Oxamaquea: Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral: Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.
701 Tomanaguene: Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo: He raises his hands; second son
551 Tahuichimpia: El Suegro, hijo tercero: Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa es:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Cavesa:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[28]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[29]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[28] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[29] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)